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FORGOTTEN MUSICIANS. DOCUMENTING MUSICAL LIFE AT THE VIENNESE IMPERIAL COURT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Introduction

This article seeks to present the aims, sources and preliminary findings of a project examining musicians and musical life at the Viennese imperial court between the reigns of Joseph I and Joseph II. Many studies have had this subject as their focus and so I will commence by discussing how this one seeks to further previous knowledge and offer new perspectives. To date, researchers have embellished the history of many individuals serving at court, examined what role policy and certain monarchs have played in musical life in Vienna, and have sought to present statistics about the number of musicians there; however, systematic research of some of the most fundamental sources pertaining to the *Hofmusik-kapelle* for the period in question has not yet been documented. In addition, there are a diverse range of materials rarely employed by musicologists which provide a more holistic view of musical life in Vienna in the 18th century.

Unlike Paul Nettl's *Forgotten Musicians*,¹ the aim of this project is not merely to embellish the lives of lesser-known figures by providing 'snapshots' of their lives, but is rather to collate these images and then examine them collectively in order to gain a better insight into the complexities of musical life at court. The desiderata are to more clearly establish court policy – ideology (i. e. ceremony) vs. pragmatism (i. e. money) – the demographic composition of the court, familial and social networks within and beyond the court and city, and the extra-musical aspects of musicians' lives, such as financial standing, health and places of residence. Moreover, it is not my intention to provide an exhaustive study on court music – which would rightly be deemed as an insurmountable challenge – but rather to provide a lexicographic resource to aid further research in this area.

¹ Nettl, Paul. *Forgotten Musicians*. New York 1951.

Musical Life at Court

Since Köchel,² a number of studies have examined musical life at the Viennese imperial court as seen through sources such as the *Hofkalender*³ and *Hofzahlamtsbücher*.⁴ Unfortunately, the large number of caveats – generally (but not always) acknowledged when using a secondary source such as Köchel – concerning the reliability and limitations of the sources are rarely discussed. As a consequence, much information regarding dates of employment and salaries can be quickly disproven by consulting other primary sources.

It is understandable given the vast amount of relevant, and potentially relevant, material that few attempts have been made to consult these sources systematically.⁵ One is also faced with the challenges that these sources present. For example,

² Ludwig Ritter von Köchel's two most seminal works on the history of the *Hofmusikkapelle* are *Die Kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867*. Vienna 1869 and *Johann Josef Fux, Hofcompositor und Hofkapellmeister der Kaiser Leopold I., Josef I. und Karl VI. von 1698 bis 1740*. Vienna 1872.

³ There are two types of printed court calendars: *Der Kaiserliche, Königliche und Erzherzogliche Staats- und Standes-Calendar* (or *Schematismus*); and *Der Kaiserliche Hof- und Ehrenkalender* (printed 1701–1806, incomplete series in the Austrian National Library, shelf mark 393.866-A.Kat and in the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA), shelf mark 37/K 1). It should be noted that the text often remains largely unchanged from year to year and therefore the information may not always be reliable, even in the court's own annotated copies (in HHStA). A detailed summary of the contents of the *Hofkalender* during the reign of Karl VI can be found in Kubiska, Irene. *Der kaiserliche Hof- und Ehrenkalender zu Wien als Quelle für die Hofforschung. Eine Analyse des Hofpersonals in der Epoche Kaiser Karls VI. (1711–1740)*. Diplomarbeit, Universität Wien 2009. In addition, the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv possesses a large number of so-called *Schreibkalender*, available (with gaps) for the years 1601 to 1780 (HHStA SB Schreibkalender).

⁴ There are a total of 656 volumes of *Hofzahlamtsbücher* (1542–1714) and *Kameralzahlamtsbücher* (1715–1825) which list the expenses of the court and thereby provide invaluable information about representation, art and culture. In addition, documents pertaining to expenditure on music can be found in sources such as the *Niederösterreichische Herrschafts-akten* (AT-OeStA FHKA AHK NÖHA W 61/A/32/B) and in the *Geheimes Kammerzahlamt* (HHStA HA GehKZ, 1673–1824) as well as in the *Obersthofmeisteramt* and *Zeremoniell-departement* which will be discussed below. A countless number of studies on music at the imperial court also employ account books as their primary source, these include: Knaus, Herwig. *Die Musiker in den geheimen kaiserlichen Kammerzahlamtsrechnungsbüchern (1669, 1705–1711)* (Vienna etc 1969). On the extant sources and their scope see Sapper, Christian. *Die Zahlamtsbücher im Hofkammerarchiv 1542–1825*. In: *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 35. Vienna 1982, pp. 404–455 and Hengerer, Mark. *Die Abrechnungsbücher des Hofzahlmeisters (1542–1714) und die Zahlamtsbücher (1542–1825) im Wiener Hofkammerarchiv*. In: *Quellenkunde der Habsburgermonarchie (16.–18. Jahrhundert. Ein exemplarisches Handbuch*. Ed. Pauser, Josef – Scheutz, Martin – Winkelbauer, Thomas, pp. 128–143.

⁵ Several studies have examined music and dance as seen through the records of the *Obersthofmeisteramt*. For the 17th and early 18th centuries these include: Knaus, Herwig. *Die Musiker im Archivbestand des kaiserlichen Obersthofmeisteramtes (1637–1705)*, 3 vols. Vienna etc 1967–1969; and Sommer-Mathis, Andrea. *Die Tänzer am Wiener Hofe im Spiegel der Obersthofmeisteramtsakten und Hofparteiprotokolle bis 1740*. Vienna 1992.

what considerations were made when compiling protocols or archiving materials, i. e. what information was included or omitted and to what end? And to what degree have the materials been preserved? Similarly, the complexities (at times perceived as such even by the court)⁶ of many court procedures can present problems. There are also a number of matters of interest to the historian which can now only be speculated about as they were too self-evident to be documented (for instance, issues of performance practice).⁷

The starting point for this study is a systematic examination of the documentation found in the *Obersthofmeisteramt*.⁸ These documents provide a diverse range

⁶ From time to time, mostly at the beginning of a monarch's reign, we find explanations about court protocol. For example, a report dated 12 January 1706 (HHStA HA OMeA ÄR 12, ff566r–567r) contains information about the procedure of appointing a musician or increasing their salary for the benefit of the Emperor; in summary: petitions were presented to the *Obersthofmeister* who sent them to the Kapellmeister for his comments and then returned them to the *Obersthofmeisteramt* where an appropriate recommendation was made. The Emperor then took the final decision (the report therefore contains a summary of the petition, a summary of the Kapellmeister's comments, the *Obersthofmeister's* appraisal and the Emperor's decision in the margin). This was then protocolled and an ordinance was made by the *Hofkontrolloramt* which was sent to the *Hofzahlamt* (the so-called 'Ordinanzen' officially confirming a musician's terms of employment can be found in the records of the *Hofkontrolloramt* (relevant volumes found in the *Sonderreihe* of the *Hofwirtschafsam* include: HHStA HA HWA SR 1–10 = *Hof-Controlloramts-Ordonanzbücher* for the years 1701–1750; HWA SR 26 and 27 = *Protokolle der obersthofmeisterlichen Resolutionen 1752–1762*)). An illustration of the complexities of court protocol can be found in documents related to the organisation of important events, such as coronations. They contain a large number of reports and plans and show that it was common practice to examine the documentation of earlier events in order to ascertain that traditions were upheld and to make appropriate amendments (these include handwritten documentation made by the court, for example, *Zeremonialprotokolle*, and also printed sources such as *Wahl- und Krönungsdarien* (published under various titles) and the 21-volume *Theatrum Europaeum* (Frankfurt am Main 1636–1748).

⁷ The issue of how many performers were required per part, for instance, is discussed only occasionally (although informed judgements can also be based on repertoire and extant parts of works). Two small examples include a letter from the musicians at St. Stephan's (a petition for money owed to them by the court) – who acted as substitutes when necessary – dated 15 February 1718 (AT-OeStA FHKA AHK NÖHA W 61/A/32/B, f758) in which it is stated that five voices per part are requested by the court and as at St. Stephan's they only have four per part, they too must employ extra musicians (and pay them directly) when engaged by the court (see n. 19 for further information about musicians from St. Stephan's performing duties for the court). Again, concerning vocalists required for church music, His Majesty is advised in 1712 that at least six, but ideally eight, of each voice were required as musicians often do not all turn up for duty because of being indisposed or out of sheer negligence (HHStA HA OMeA ÄR 13, f205v, dated 31 December 1712).

⁸ Although there is a separate *Hofmusikkapelle* department within the *Obersthofmeisteramt*, for the period 1757–1900, only the first Karton of acts (1757–1799, HHStA HA HMK Akten 1) is relevant for this study. The type of documents found here include those normally found in the acts of the *Obersthofmeisteramt* and *Zeremonielldepartement* as well as material pertaining to the *Tonkünstler-Sozietät*, tax declarations and inventories. The majority of documents concerning the *Hofmusikkapelle* are scattered within the main series of protocols and acts of the *Obersthofmeisteramt*. The *Protokolle in Hofparteiensachen* (available under this title for the period 1676–1784, other protocols exist for the years 1638–1921) comprise fair copies

of information about musical life at court and allow one to weave an incredibly rich tapestry of its history. In comparison to the (albeit detailed) court account books, the *Obersthofmeisteramt* records portray a much more vivid picture of music at court through their descriptions of court policy on music and employment. One illustration of this is the process of supplication. The most common reasons for petitioning are given as practicalities such as providing for a wife and/or family⁹ and paying off debts.¹⁰ In the case of foreign (primarily Italian) musicians, money is often sought to travel to their homeland or to assist family members abroad. In addition, many claims are simply motivated by rivalry, i. e. a colleague who is deemed to be less deserving is earning more. As one might expect, acceptance of petitions depended largely on principles such as loyalty, dedication, diligence and, in the case of appointments, mastery of the instrument.¹¹ Preference to those whose families had a tradition of serving the court – or even defending the empire¹² – also played a major role in the decision-making process. This is mirrored in the web of familial relationships between musicians at court in the 18th century revealing it to be somewhat rife with nepotism. Other merits specified included religious conversion¹³ and even castration!¹⁴ Towards the end

of reports sanctioned by the Emperor. Original letters, testimonials and annotated drafts are found in the corresponding *ältere Reihe* of *Obersthofmeisteramtsakten* (1650–1780). In addition, there is a series of drafts found in the *Konzeptsprotokolle* (HHStA HA OMeA KonzPr, 1700–1784). The *Sonderreihe* of the *Obersthofmeisteramt* (HHStA HA OMeA SR) also contains many relevant acts pertaining to the *Hofmusikkapelle*, for example, lists of musicians and contracts.

- ⁹ For example, Giovanni Carestini's petition for a pay rise shortly after his arrival in Vienna was rejected as he was not 'burdened' with a wife and child – the *Obersthofmeisteramt* deemed that a single man such as him could live easily on 1000 Fl per annum (HHS-tA HA OMeA ÄR 19, unfoliated, dated 7/27 January 1724).
- ¹⁰ In their petitions for an appointment at court, a rise in pay, a pension, or *Gnadengeld*, almost all "supplicants" claimed a state of impoverishment, regardless of their income, therefore the reliability of these sources must always be brought into question.
- ¹¹ The vocabulary in these letters and reports is restricted largely to the words 'fleißig', 'emsig', 'treu', 'langjährig' (referring to period of service), 'virtuos', 'perfectioniert').
- ¹² For example, in his petition to become a *Hofscholar*, the organist Franz Joseph Rusoffsky claims that as a result of the injuries incurred in defending Vienna during the 1683 siege, his father was unable to work and he had to provide for him (HHStA HA OMeA ÄR 17, unfoliated, dated 3 October/10 October 1720).
- ¹³ Some examples of musicians converting to Catholicism include the so-called 'Brandenburgische Knaben' from Berlin – although all but one (Ludwig Schön, see HHStA sHA OMeA ÄR 12, ff646v–647r, dated 9 January 1710) were forced to return home owing to a lack of means to support them – and Ferdinand Lind (HHStA HA OMeA Prot. 6, f788, undated, summer 1709), who came to Vienna from Denmark with his seven sons, all of whom converted to Catholicism.
- ¹⁴ For example, it is stated that the soprano Johann Held had a weak and unattractive voice but in his favour, he had been castrated in order to serve at court. See HHStA HA OMeA Prot. 7, ff215r–225r.

of the century musical talent is often more explicitly stated as a reason for employing an individual.¹⁵

In addition, the *Obersthofmeisteramt* records provide an abundance of material on musicians' activities and compositions,¹⁶ their travels,¹⁷ ability (or lack thereof), minor disciplinary issues,¹⁸ as well as more personal issues such as family life, illness and death.

It is universally accepted that the pinnacle of the *Hofmusikkapelle* was reached under Karl VI, however – as can be seen from the following table which shows

¹⁵ One such example is a report written on 8 November 1796, (HHStA HA HMK Akten 1, ff314r–315v) concerning three applicants, namely, Karl Ponheimer, Philipp Korner and Jacob Conti, for a violinist's post (for the chapel) that had become vacant after the death of Otto Ponheimer (a *Kammermusikus* who also served in the chapel with a salary of 300 Fl for the former and 150 Fl for the latter). Here the opinion is expressed that years of service should not be ranked above ability. In summary, Karl Ponheimer was the son of the deceased violinist and claims he needs to provide for his mother although no musical talents are reported of; Korner had taught the *Singknaben* for nine years and often served as a string player, archivist and *Instrumenten Dispensator* without pay; nonetheless, he was considered to be a much more average (albeit versatile) musician than Conti, who was widely regarded as a master on the violin. Therefore Conti is appointed and it is suggested that Korner is offered an additional 50 Fl to his current annual salary of 50 Fl to act as a substitute (which is acknowledged to probably be a saving as they would no longer have to pay so many musicians for individual services).

¹⁶ Documents in the *Obersthofmeisteramt* occasionally provide the only evidence of musicians' compositional activities or about works which are no longer extant.

¹⁷ For this period, one of the main sources of information about musicians who partook in court travels are the *Hofzeremonielldepartement* records (*Zeremonialprotokolle* (1652–1918) and *ältere Zeremonialakten* (1562–1836) as well as a series of *Konzepte der Zeremonialprotokolle* (1677–1798)). The *Zeremonialprotokolle* were first conceived in 1652 during an attempted reform of the organisation of imperial court (*Hofstaat*). These chronicles were recorded by a secretary to the *Obersthofmeister* and maintained – albeit with some gaps – until the end of the Habsburg monarchy. It should be noted that the *Zeremonialprotokolle* were not maintained in the form of a diary, rather they are composites of various documents which were first brought together in the form of *Konzepte*. Fair copies were made retrospectively and bound in individual volumes. Which (if any?) predetermined criteria there were for deciding what information should be recorded is impossible to ascertain. At first, only isolated events were noted; however, the *Zeremonialprotokolle* became an increasingly used 'reference work' for matters of policy, ceremony and event planning and by the mid-eighteenth century, entries occur on an almost daily basis about a diverse range of activities – the frequency of records from the latter half of the century onwards is once again markedly lower. For more detailed information see Pangerl, Irmgard – Scheutz, Martin – Winkelbauer, Thomas. *Zeremoniell und zeremonielles Handeln am Wiener Hof. Eine Skizze*. In: *Der Wiener Hof im Spiegel der Zeremonial-Protokolle (1652–1800). Eine Annäherung*. Ed. Pangerl, Irmgard – Scheutz, Martin – Winkelbauer, Thomas. Innsbruck 2007, pp. 7–14; and Pauser, Josef – Scheutz, Martin – Winkelbauer, Thomas (eds.). *Quellenkunde der Habsburgermonarchie (16.–18. Jahrhundert). Ein exemplarisches Handbuch*. Vienna, 2004.

¹⁸ For example, costumes and accessories used for comedy performances which were borrowed and not returned is a much discussed issue in 1711. Several musicians were involved in this scandal and as a result had their salary suspended (see in particular HHStA HA OMeA ÄR 13, f114r, f116, dated 3 July/12 August 1711). More serious matters were dealt with by the *Oberstshofmarschallamt* (HHStA HA OMAA).

how many musicians were employed at given times and their salaries – musical life at court during the reign of Joseph I was more than blossoming. It should be noted that the figures shown in Table 1 were liable to change on a regular basis and they do not take into account the number of musicians offering their services free of charge (a means of increasing their chance of being employed) or those being paid as ‘extras’ both in Vienna¹⁹ and on court travels.²⁰ Nor does it include the musicians serving at the chapels of the dowager Empresses.

Table 1. Number of musicians and salary ranges (in Gulden)

Source:	HHStA HA OMeA Prot. 6, ff594r–597v	HHStA HA OMeA Prot. 7, ff398r–405v	AT-OeStA FHKA AHK NÖHA W 61/A/32/B, ff817r–823v	HHStA HA OMeA Prot. 17, ff46v–50v
Date:	4 January 1706	31 December 1712	End of September 1729	15 March 1741
Director	-	-	-	1 (3000) ²¹
Kapellmeister	1 (2000)	1 (2500) ²²	1 (3100) ²³	1 (2000) ²⁴
Vice-Kapell- meister	1 (1620)	1 (1600)	1 (2500) ²⁵	1 (1500) ²⁶
Composers	3 (1440)	1 (1440)	3 (1440)	3 (800–1200) ²⁷
Soprani	5 (720–1440)	4 (600–1800)	5 (648–1500)	5 (500–2000) ²⁸
Contralti	7 (900–1440)	3 (1800)	8 (400–1800)	7 (500–2400) ²⁹

¹⁹ A large number of petitions from the musicians at St. Stephan’s asking for money for services performed exist for the years 1713 to 1744 (the highest sum requested is 2845 Fl in 1713). Occasionally, inventories of church services served at (in various chapels in the town and at the Favorita and Laxenburg) and details of what kind of music and forces were required are also preserved. These extra musicians were required either because the imperial court musicians were not in Vienna or simply because additional forces were required for particular ceremonies (see the letters, reports and inventories scattered throughout AT-OeStA FHKA AHK NÖHA W 61/A/32/B).

²⁰ On the subject of local musicians being employed for various coronation ceremonies and surrounding festivities in the 18th century see Dunlop, Alison J.. Music and Musicians at the Pressburg Coronation of Maria Theresia (1741) (In: *Musicologica Slovaca* 3 (29), 2012, pp. 5–44) and Paduch, Arno. Die Mainzer Hofkapelle und die musikalische Ausgestaltung der Frankfurter Wahl- und Krönungsmessen. In: *Wahl und Krönung in Zeiten des Umbruchs*. Ed. Relizaeus, Ludolf. Frankfurt am Main 2008, pp. 105–129.

²¹ Count Ferdinand Lamberg is the only Music Director to be listed (and with pay) in the selected reports.

²² ‘Ordinary’ pay is 2000 Fl, an additional 500 Fl is given for his carriage and paper.

²³ This sum includes unspecified expenses.

²⁴ With the note ‘Gegen aufhebung des Wein=Deputats’.

²⁵ This sum includes unspecified expenses.

²⁶ It is noted that this position will no longer be replaced in the future.

²⁷ The lowest amount is for a deputy and it is noted that this position will in the future no longer be replaced.

²⁸ The lowest amount is for a deputy.

²⁹ 600 Fl is paid to the deputy (*not* the lowest amount in this instance).

Source:	HHStA HA OMeA Prot. 6, ff594r–597v	HHStA HA OMeA Prot. 7, ff398r–405v	AT-OeStA FHKA AHK NÖHA W 61/A/32/B, ff817r–823v	HHStA HA OMeA Prot. 17, ff46v–50v
Tenors	10 (600–1440)	5 (720–1800)	9 (200–1800) ³⁰	4 (400–1500)
Basses	8 (540–1440)	3 (780–1080)	10 (200–1300) ³¹	7 (500–1200) ³²
Organists	5 (540–1260)	3 (540–900)	8 (360–1000)	4 (400–900) ³³
Female singers	2 (1080–1440)	4 (400–4000) ³⁴	8 (400–4000)	3 (1000–2000) ³⁵
String players	24 (360–1440)	27 (210–1440)	37 (360–1800)	24 (260–1200) ³⁶
Cymbalist	–	–	1 (1000)	1 (1000)
Horn players	3 (360–660)	4 (360–720)	3 (360–720)	2 (400–450) ³⁷
Trombonists	5 (360–900)	3 (540–900)	5 (200–900) ³⁸	5 (300–800) ³⁹
Bassoonists	2 (540–900)	3 (540–1080)	5 (300–1080) ⁴⁰	4 (400–1000)
Oboists	1 (540)	4 (500–720)	5 (500–720)	3 (360–500)
Concert Dispensator and deputy	2 (660–720)	2 (300–900)	2 (400–600)	2 (200–400) ⁴¹
Copyists	–	–	2 (300) ⁴²	1 (200)
<i>Instrumentdiener</i>	2 (150–540)	2 (150–540)	2 (240–540)	2 (250–500)
Organ makers	2 (360)	2 (360)	2 (360)	2 (200–300)
Lute makers	1 (400)	2 (180–400)	2 (180–450)	2 (100–400) ⁴³
Musical trumpeters ⁴⁴	3 (165–720)	8 (135–720)	13 (50–790) ⁴⁵	7 (100–600)
Timpanists	–	– ⁴⁶	1 (400)	2 (100–300)

30 The two receiving the lowest amount of 200 Fl are deputies.

31 The one receiving the lowest amount of 200 Fl is a deputy.

32 The lowest amount is received by a deputy and several others.

33 500 Fl is paid to the deputy (*not* the lowest amount in this instance).

34 Two singers ('Catharina Käpplerin' and '[Elisabetha] Fruehewürthin') have the remark beside their name „sollen abgedanckt werden“.

35 The third singer earning 1000 Fl is unnamed.

36 It is noted that in future there will only be three violoncellists appointed instead of four.

37 The second player earning 400 Fl is unnamed.

38 The one receiving the lowest amount of 200 Fl is a deputy.

39 It is noted that in future there will only be four appointed instead of five.

40 The one receiving the lowest amount of 300 Fl is a deputy.

41 It is noted that 'disen [Andre Amiller], vnd nachfolgenden Copisten seynd die Copiaturn Extrà zu zahlen.'

42 One for the chapel, one for the theatre.

43 It is noted that the post of lute maker's assistant will in the future no longer exist.

44 These figures are not representative of a trumpeter's entire salary as they received money from different accounts, i. e. for their duties as 'musical' trumpeter and for other ceremonial or military functions. See Lindner, Andreas. *Die kaiserlichen Hoftrumpeter und Hofpauker im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*. Tutzing 1999.

45 Here simply listed as trumpeters.

46 An additional five trumpeters and one timpanist who served in Spain are listed in the accompanying report and it is suggested that they receive an unspecified 'musical' salary as well as their court salary.

Source:	HHStA HA OMeA Prot. 6, ff594r–597v	HHStA HA OMeA Prot. 7, ff398r–405v	AT-OeStA FHKA AHK NÖHA W 61/A/32/B, ff817r–823v	HHStA HA OMeA Prot. 17, ff46v–50v
Instructor of the <i>Brandenburgische Knaben</i>	1 (1650)	–	–	–
Scholars	13 (170–360) ⁴⁷	5 (360) ⁴⁸	5 (360)	3 (180–360) ⁴⁹
Total	101 (83255)	87 (68495)	138 (112170)	96 (68710)

During the reign of Karl VI, the *Hofmusikkapelle* still catered for all ceremonial and entertainment needs of the court. Musicians enjoyed relatively high salaries, were normally employed for life, and they – as well as their widows and sometimes other family members – enjoyed generous pensions.⁵⁰ It is commonly believed that the financial problems which loomed over the *Hofmusikkapelle* only arose after the death of Karl VI. It is perhaps true that the first signs of decay are only visible after Maria Theresia came to power; however, problems were known of and solutions proposed as early as 1711. In this year, it was recommended that the number of musicians should be reduced.⁵¹ It is also noteworthy that in spite of the extortionate sums of money spent on music during the reign of Karl VI, the court appears to have had persistent problems in achieving an appropriate balance, i. e. although one often finds reference to ‘superfluous’ forces, there were often not enough capable players to perform at all necessary functions.⁵² The following year, the imperial music was described as being in a state

⁴⁷ Those receiving 170 Fl are Paul Alber’s scholars; the standard sum for a *Hofscholar* was 360 Fl.

⁴⁸ In the corresponding report, it is stated that two are no longer scholars, but rather gamba players; however, it is undecided if they should be pensioned or not and so they are still included here with the usual stipend.

⁴⁹ Listed under pensioners although we know from other sources that they were still actively employed.

⁵⁰ Interestingly, a careful track of pensions being paid out was not always kept; for example in 1729, it is noted that the pensioners Franz Magi, who received a pension from 1682, and the children of Michael Georg Schnauz (named as Franz, Hans, Georg and Joseph), who received a pension from 1683, are unknown to the court and likely to already be dead! (AT-OeStA FHKA AHK NÖHA W 61/A/32/B, ff817r–823v).

⁵¹ HHStA HA OMeA ÄR 13, ff9r–12v, dated 3 September 1711.

⁵² To give but a few examples: ‘die music [ist] so überHeüfft, daß man zu auffnehmung überflüßiger musicorum nicht einrathen kan’ (HHStA HA OMeA ÄR 12, ff639r, dated 9 January 1710); ‘hetten Ew: Kay. Maytt, bey der music, einen großen abgang /: wie er es nennet : / di voci acute, fürnehmlich an Soprani.’ (HHStA OMeA ÄR 13, ff28v, dated 31 March 1711). The Status of 1729 (AT-OeStA FHKA AHK NÖHA W 61/A/32/B, ff817r–823v) is a good example of how a strikingly large number ‘active’ musicians were incapable of performing all or any of their duties. For example, those listed as ‘impotens’ include Johann Joseph Fux (‘Alters und ohnpäßlichkeit halber’), Francesco Conti (‘impotens in Italia’), Rosa Borosini, Carlo Costa, Georg Reutter, Leopold Rammer, Johann Frank, Antoni Rayola, Johann Gabriel, Andreas Abend (‘hohen Alters halber impotens’), Peter Schmelzer (‘wegen Stropirten

of ‘great confusion’, owing to the exorbitant salaries – which were in many cases impossible to pay out (see the discussion on musicians’ finances below) – and the various accounts from which they were paid. It was therefore recommended that all musicians should be paid from the *Hofzahlamt* and that the highest salaries should be reduced, especially given the fact that several musicians were earning more than some *Cavaglieri* and high-ranking advisors. It was also recommended that no further scholars be appointed as all too often they never matured into *virtuosi*, rather the singers were frequently useless after their voices broke and some instrumentalists could not even tune their instruments!⁵³

At the beginning of Maria Theresa’s reign, the *Hofmusikkapelle* was split from the opera, which was contracted out to an impresario. It was the contract of 1751 (subsequently revised in 1756), however, which was to have the most impact on musical life at court. The purpose of this contract was to take a step towards reducing expenses on music by establishing a fixed budget for music which was to be managed by Kapellmeister Georg Reutter (although appropriate salaries were recommended by the court). In summary, the contract specified that when musicians with decrees died or retired, Reutter was to find replacements and pay for them within a fixed annual budget of 20,000 Fl. In addition, he was given an allowance (stipulated as 1600 Fl in the contract of 1756) to pay for rehearsals, balls and chamber festivities, extra musicians, travel and copies of music. The main savings would consequently only be incurred over a longer period of time when higher paid musicians who died were not replaced. As a result of this contract, many musicians were faced with a reduced salary and those who were employed directly by Reutter were not entitled to the normal privileges of a decree-holding court employee, such as a pension or court accommodation.⁵⁴ These changes had an unforeseen negative impact not only on the musicians but also the

Fingern impotens’), Ferdinand Lemberger (‘wegen Geschwundenen Arm impotens’), Paul Alber (‘hohen alters halber impot.[ens]’), Nicolo Ancropoli (‘ohnpäßlichkeit halber in Italia’) and Carl Maillard (‘Alters halber impotens’); those listed as ‘quasi impotens’ or ‘fast impotens’ are Lorenzo Masselli, Giovanni Battista Vergelli, and Jacob Hoffer. Individual reports also include more details about why musicians are no longer performing their duties. For example, reports about violinists in the following year include the following striking examples of musicians who are incapacitated or simply unwilling to perform: Nicola Matteis: ‘wegen kompetenz mit dem alten Piani’, Johann Hoffer: ‘kombt schon 2. biß 3. Jahr fast nicht mehr zum dienst’, Peter Schmelzer: ‘auß Mangel an denen Fingern’, Ferdinand Lemberger: ‘wegen Schwindung eines arms’, Nicolo Ancropoli: ‘schon ettliche Jahr zu Venedig unterm praetext einer Cur’, Leopold Libano: ‘kombt wegen Schmerzen am gebrochenen Fueß gar selten’ (this is explained in another report in HHStA HA OMeA ÄR 26, unfoliated, dated 31 December 1730: ‘welcher vor zwey iahren auf den Laxemburger weg umbgeworffen, den Fuß gebrochen, und unglücklich curirt worden ist, also dß bey veränderlichen weter schmerzen Halber er öffters nit dienen kan. ’), Johann Ignatz Angermayr: ‘soll jezt nach erlehnter Composition alß Violinist nicht mehr dienen wollen’ (HHStA HA OMeA ÄR 26, unfoliated, dated 17 November 1730).

⁵³ See HHStA HA OMeA ÄR 13, ff201r–207r, dated 31 December 1712.

⁵⁴ There are several copies of the contracts and documents pertaining to them in HHS-A HA HMK Akten 1; HHStA HA OMeA ÄR 65, Prot. 21, Prot. 23 and Prot. 24.

standard of music making at court. By the beginning of Joseph II's reign,⁵⁵ it is reported it was increasingly difficult to find able musicians who met the demands of 'court propriety' ('wie es der Decor des Hofes erheischet') as they could earn more money from pupils, compositions or private *Akademien* (concerts).⁵⁶ This was compounded by the fact that very few good musicians wished to travel as far as Schönbrunn or Laxenburg for a nominal sum.⁵⁷

The Private Lives of Musicians

I am now going to turn to look at what can be gleaned about the private lives of court musicians. In spite of the fact that virtually no personal correspondence or diaries of musicians working in Vienna at this time are known to have survived, 'official' sources provide a surprising insight into the everyday lives of court employees. The first point under consideration is finance. Although a 'Policey-Ordnung' ranks court musicians in the upper echelons of Viennese society,⁵⁸ there is no direct correlation between the status and financial wellbeing of musicians. Even a cursory glimpse into the *Obersthofmeisteramt* records and estate documents reveals that musicians working side by side ranged from almost destitute to exceedingly wealthy – a state of affairs which naturally depended not only on their court salary but also on such factors as lifestyle, ability to manage money, size of family, background and marital prospects, health, or lack thereof, amongst others.

As already touched upon above, whilst it would appear that court musicians fared well in comparison to their counterparts working in churches or as town

⁵⁵ For a summary of the organisation of music at court under the reign of Joseph II, see Link, Dorothea. Mozart's appointment to the Viennese Court. In: *Words about Mozart. Essays in Honour of Stanley Sadie*. Ed. Link, Dorothea and Nagley, Judith. Woodbridge 2005, pp. 153–178.

⁵⁶ See HHStA OMeA ÄR 66, unfoliated, undated (1765).

⁵⁷ See the report in HHStA HA HMK Akten 1 (ff22r–36v, dated 18 March/9 April 1772) in which the Emperor is advised of how the 'noble art' ('edle Thonkunst') at court can be prevented from going into further decline and how musicians may be kept satisfied. Here it is advised against paying musicians for individual services as it would result in a poorer standard of music and possibly even higher expenditure (based on the statistics of 1771 in which the singers of the chapel performed 232 services at 2 Fl per service; the instrumentalists did not have so many church services but extras, who were paid at least 1 Ducat each, were required for balls, *Tafelmusik* and *Spectacles* at Schönbrunn and Laxenburg).

⁵⁸ The structure of this 1671 document is summarised as follows in *Wien. Geschichte einer Stadt*, vol. 2: *Die frühneuzeitliche Residenz (16. bis 18. Jahrhundert)*. Ed. Csendes, Peter and Opll, Ferdinand (series editors), Vocolka, Karl and Traninger, Anita (volume editors). Wien etc 2003, p. 241: At the top are the aristocracy followed by high-ranking officials (working at court or for the nobility) such as judges, doctors, lawyers, *Kammerdiener* etc; these were followed by court musicians and professions such as *Hof-*, *Stall-* and *Münzmeister*; next come the more affluent trade people, sculptors, engravers etc; in penultimate position, are other craftsmen and traders, teachers etc and at the bottom are the remaining populous.

musicians, one should take into consideration the fact that court musicians were typically paid in arrears and even sometimes not at all. This is best illustrated through inventories of estate (discussed below), but this contentious matter is also mentioned in other contemporary sources. For example, there are numerous documents pertaining to a not insignificant number of musicians made redundant after the death of Joseph I who were still owed several (mostly five) quarters of pay in 1720 (formerly, the situation was much worse as several of these individuals had not been paid for up to 17 quarters!⁵⁹). The alleged consequences were that the musicians were driven into a state of ‘prostitution’ and ruin – leaving some to face the daily threat of being arrested for being unable to pay their creditors (who sometimes were granted half of a musician’s salary which was paid directly to them).⁶⁰ Similarly, several musicians who had served in Naples or Barcelona were still owed their salaries almost a decade after coming to Vienna.⁶¹

Wills and estate documents, tax books, court accommodation books and land registers also allow us to gain a better insight into the finances of musicians as well revealing more about their everyday lives and social networks. For the purposes of this article, estate documents (primarily in the *Obersthofmarschallamt*) have been examined for the period 1741 to 1749.⁶² The estate documents may consist of so-called *Sperr-Relationen*,⁶³ *Erbserklärungen* (declarations of acceptance of the inheritance), one or more inventories of the deceased’s possessions (sometimes with both the appraisal and auction price obtained), assets (including

⁵⁹ See HHStA HA OMeA ÄR 13: ff193r–194v, ca. June 1712 and ff346r–350v (copy ff352r–355v), dated 11 August 1712 which concern the exemption of tax payments for those who are owed salary in arrears.

⁶⁰ ‘[...] wodurch aber in großen schuldten=Last, vnd Eyßerstes Ellendt dermaßen verfallen Seyndt dß unser etwelche mit Täglich betrohenden Arresten, vnd anderen verfolgungen in Eine entliche prostitution, und letzten Ruin zufallen augenscheinlich Periclitieren’. See the collective letter of petition from redundant musicians in AT-OeStA FHKA AHK NÖHA W 61/A/32/B, f775r, dated 2 September 1720.

⁶¹ See, for example, the cases of Giulio Cavaletti on not being paid for duties in Naples (HHStA HA OMeA ÄR 16, unfoliated, dated 13 September/24 October 1718) and Gasparo Coruo in Barcelona (HHStA HA OMeA ÄR 16, 13 September 1718).

⁶² In the 18th century, wills and estates of court musicians are split between the *Obersthofmarschallamt* (in HHStA) and the *Alte Ziviljustiz* authority (in the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv). The *Obersthofmarschallamt* (1486–1919, interrupted 1749–63 when the Lower Austrian regime took over its functions) was from 1564 onwards responsible for civil and punitive matters pertaining to members of the Viennese imperial court and was also the authority for matters such as diplomacy and imperial journeys. The *Alte Ziviljustiz* authority normally only contains wills and probate documents of those living in Vienna who did not fall under the jurisdiction of a particular institution such as the imperial court or university; however, one occasionally finds wills and estate documents of court musicians here.

⁶³ These are reports concerning the ‘gerichtliche Sperre’, the process which opened the settling of the estate, which typically included the name of the deceased, their job, marital status, place of residence, death date, husband or wife, children (separated into those who had and hadn’t reached the age of legal majority), if a will was made or not and where it was, the next of kin, and assets.

salary or pension in arrears) and debts (or expenditure following the death such as administration costs, tax and burial expenses), marriage contracts, birth certificates of spouses or legitimate children, death certificates, receipts, extracts from accounts, sales contracts (of property), extracts from the land registers, documents pertaining to the guardianship of children, petitions to the court for unpaid salary, pension or charity, and finally *Einantwortungsurkunden* (certification of the inheritance of the estate).

It was in the heirs' interest to minimise the total valuation of the estate in order to reduce inheritance tax and it is highly likely that heirs sought to hide any cash which was in possession of the deceased (one rarely sees it declared in the inventory).⁶⁴ As well as these disclaimers, one disadvantage of using estate documents as a means of assessing an individual's estate is the fact that they only represent their financial standing for one finite point in time; however, considered together with income from court (and potentially earnings from performing elsewhere, from pupils or the sale of compositions) and, where applicable, property, it is possible to form a more accurate assessment of how musicians fared financially.

In many cases, only *Sperr-Relationen* and *Erbserklärungen* are extant (which are nonetheless useful starting points for genealogical research). Further information about the financial standing of the following musicians and their immediate family could, however, be established for the period 1741–1749:⁶⁵

- Marc' Antonio Berti: Assets valued at 306 Fl 43 Kr, which consisted primarily of court salary in arrears (219 Fl 26 Kr).⁶⁶
- Maria Theresia Braun: Assets valued at 6400 Fl, to be split between her husband and children after the deduction of costs accrued through illness and death amounting to 883 Fl.⁶⁷
- Giovanni Bononcini: A court pension in arrears (15 Fl) and a few other effects which were valued at 38 Fl 35 Kr and sold for 63 Fl 17 Kr. After the usual expenses were deducted 76 Fl 58 Kr remained (the additional proceeds of the sale of his music – which is not itemised – is not mentioned. Bononcini also claimed that he was still owed 20,000 Fl for his services to

⁶⁴ See Pammer, Michael. *Testamente und Verlassenschaftsabhandlungen (18. Jahrhundert)*. In: *Quellenkunde der Habsburgermonarchie (16.–18. Jahrhundert)*. Ein exemplarisches Handbuch. Ed. Pauser, Josef – Scheutz, Martin – Winkelbauer, Thomas. Vienna/Munich 2004, pp. 495–510; Ogris, Werner. *Mozart im Familien- und Erbrecht seiner Zeit*. Vienna 1999; and Hochedlinger, Michael – Pangerl, Irmgard (eds.). „*Mein letzter Wille*“: kulturhistorisch bedeutende Testamente und Verlassenschaftsabhandlungen in Wiener Archiven (16.–18. Jahrhundert).

⁶⁵ Where no debts or expenses are given, there is no surviving documentation.

⁶⁶ HHStA HA OMaA 711, 1741/5137, inventory made on 2 May 1742.

⁶⁷ HHStA HA OMaA 711, 1742/5160, document concerning the distribution of assets, dated 18 August 1741/1 September 1744.

the court during the reign of Joseph I, a petition which was considered ‘dubious’ by the appraiser.⁶⁸

- Maria Barbara Buchhaim: Assets of 3991 Fl 27 Kr (including 200 Fl cash and 3500 Fl obligations), which after deduction of apothecary, funeral, burial and mourning expenses, charitable donations and bequests (totalling 3571 Fl 10 Kr), left 240 Fl 17 Kr.⁶⁹
- Pietro Cassati: Assets valued at 10,800 Fl, which included property valued at 2950 Fl (although in the land register its value is given as 6483 Fl 45 Kr and it and its contents were actually sold for 3700 Fl on 15 July 1748), court salary in arrears (3000 Fl) and a bank obligation of 4000 Fl. Death tax of 116 Fl 40 Kr was deducted.⁷⁰
- Jodocus Adam Christ: Assets valued at 190 Fl 31 Kr consisting primarily of payment in arrears from court which excluding 56 Fl 15 Kr was to be paid to creditors; 45 Fl from St. Stephan’s which had already been acquired by the guardian and used for the children’s living costs and an additional 18 Fl in cash was used for burial expenses. The assets were not enough to cover the debts of approximately 500 Fl (the surviving records do not allow us to calculate a precise total) to his landlord, various merchants and apothecaries.⁷¹
- Maria Eleonora Denk: Assets valued at 2546 Fl (including 785 Fl of Carl Joseph Denk’s court salary in arrears) which with the subtraction of the usual costs, apothecary bills and bequests left 1129 Fl 14 Kr (before tax was subtracted).⁷²
- Maria Susanna Denk: Assets of 8000 Fl in obligations and five quarters of court pension (other effects are considered worthless); with the subtraction of funeral and burial costs, bequests, charitable donations and outstanding salary for a servant, 6699 Fl 24 Kr remained and was split between her children and grandchildren.⁷³
- Johann Joseph Fux⁷⁴
- Anna Maria Freidenreich: 1100 Fl in bank obligations.⁷⁵
- Franz Freidenreich: Assets of 1158 Fl 55 Kr consisting mainly of court salary in arrears and bank obligations.⁷⁶

⁶⁸ HHStA HA OMaA 724, 1747/6081.

⁶⁹ HHStA HA OMaA 723, 1747/5978, ‘Getreue bekantus’, dated 3 June 1747.

⁷⁰ A-Wsa Faszikel 2, Verlassenschaftsabhandlungen 1783–1850, 4764/1830, presented on 14 April 1747

⁷¹ HHStA HA OMaA 721, 1746/5821, inventory made on 2 May 1746.

⁷² HHStA HA OMaA 718, 1744/5544.

⁷³ HHStA HA OMaA 717, 1743/5503, list of assets undated.

⁷⁴ HHStA HA OMaA 710, 1741/5006. See Köchel, *Johann Josef Fux*..., pp. 288–290

⁷⁵ HHStA HA OMaA 725, 1747/6124, document dated 1 December 1747.

⁷⁶ HHStA HA OMaA 705 1738/4658, inventory made on 22 January 1739.

- Anna Barbara Hammer: Assets valued at 133 Fl 20 Kr, consisting solely of court pension in arrears.⁷⁷
- Anna Justina Hammer: Assets totalling 966 Fl 57 Kr (900 Fl of which is an obligation).⁷⁸
- Johann Paul Hammer: Assets valued at 605 Fl 25 Kr including court salary in arrears (559 Fl 45 Kr).⁷⁹
- Jacob Leopold Hellmann: Assets valued at 1676 Fl 16 Kr including 20 Fl 27 ½ Kr cash used for funeral expenses, court salary in arrears (836 Fl), obligations (495 Fl) and effects valued at 324 Fl 38 ½ Kr and sold for 388 Fl 45 Kr. After the usual costs were deducted 353 Fl 9 Kr remained.⁸⁰
- Leopold Hintereder: Assets of a mere 17 Fl 3 Kr – most items were valued at under 1 Fl and some were kept by his son.⁸¹
- Joseph Holland: No inventory of estate survives but receipts for bequests to the Augustinian monastery for 1000 Fl in Baden and the Brothers of the Misericordia in Vienna for 200 Fl (dated 7 December and 27 November 1747 respectively) give some indication of his wealth.⁸²
- Johann Ernst Muffat: Assets valued at 46 Fl 45 Kr consisting of court payment in arrears (23 Fl 15 Kr) and some old clothes which were sold for 23 Fl 30 Kr.⁸³
- Heinrich Ponheimer: Assets of 6203 Fl (consisting primarily of Wiener Stadt-Banco obligations and 3800 Fl cash).⁸⁴
- Jacob Schämböck: Assets valued at 66 Fl 30 Kr consisting mainly of court salary in arrears (40 Fl).⁸⁵
- Franz Schön: Assets valued at 9547 Fl 15 2/3 Kr, consisting of court salary in arrears: (108 Fl 30 2/3 Kr) and a significant sum of obligations. The goldsmith was owed 118 Fl and the tailor 194 Fl).⁸⁶
- Bernhard Ziller: Assets valued at 351 Fl 17 ¼ Kr consisting primarily of court salary in arrears (he was owed 505 Fl 28 Kr but half of it had been assigned to his wife by the court). 35 Fl was paid to a goldsmith and 61 Fl to the tailor.⁸⁷

⁷⁷ HHStA HA OMaA 729, 1742/5163, 'Vermögens-Beschreibung' made on 9 April 1748.

⁷⁸ HHStA HA OMaA 712, 1742/5163, inventory made on 31 August 1744.

⁷⁹ HHStA HA OMaA 728, inventory made on 21 March 1749.

⁸⁰ HHStA HA OMaA 712, 1742/5193, inventory made on 27 April 1742.

⁸¹ HHStA HA OMaA 725, 1747/6106, inventory made on 6 October 1747.

⁸² HHStA HA OMaA 725, 1747/6119.

⁸³ HHStA HA OMaA 722, 1746/5896, report dated 18 November 1746.

⁸⁴ HHStA HA OMaA 716, 1743/5415, undated 'Getreue vermögens bekenntnis [...]'.

⁸⁵ HHStA HA OMaA 711, 1741/5131, 'Specification des [...] vermögens', dated 25 September 1742.

⁸⁶ HHStA HA OMaA 712, 1742/5184, inventory made on 21 March 1742.

⁸⁷ HHStA HA OMaA 716, 1743/5464, inventory made on 5 September 1743.

As a brief aside, it is of interest that music and musical instruments are rarely listed in estate documents. In approximately 150 such documents of musicians and their immediate family examined to date, a mere dozen mention musical items: in the estates of the dance master Ambros Bontempo ‘Zwey alte lauthen sambt den fueteralen’, ‘Ein doppelter instrument fliegel’, ‘Ein bundt laudten Seitten’;⁸⁸ and the musicians Giovanni Battista Priuli ‘Musicalia’, ‘1 Instrument’, ‘1 Clauicordt’, ‘4 Pffeyffen’ (possibly not of the musical kind!), ‘4 Poßaunen sambt dem fueteral’, ‘1 Theorba sambt dem fueteral’, ‘4 Instrument Stüll’, ‘Noch ein weyße truhen [...] mitt Musical:[ien]’, ‘zwo truhen mitt Musicalien’ and ‘Ein Sark mit Musicalien’;⁸⁹ Johann Baptist Peyer ‘Ein Instrument und 1. Spinettl’ valued together at 20 Fl;⁹⁰ Franz Schön: ‘Ein Trompeten [sic] vom 12. lötigen Silber’ valued at 37 Fl 48 Kr, ‘Ein andere deto [Trompeten] vom Prob=Silber’ valued at 51 Fl 45 Kr, ‘Ein Jägerhorn Mundstück von 12. löthigen Silber’ valued at 36 Kr, ‘1 Violin’ valued at 45 Kr and ‘2 messingene Trompeten’ valued at 1 Fl 15 Kr;⁹¹ Jacob Leopold Hellmann ‘Ein Par Flauten’ valued at 45 Kr;⁹² Franz Carl Drenger ‘Eine Violoncela [sic], denen Söhnen zum gebrauch gehörig’;⁹³ Giovanni Bononcini ‘2 Raiß=Truchen, worinnen verschiedene musicalische Concerten’;⁹⁴ Johann Paul Hammer ‘Zwey Geigen nebst ein Futeral, 4 Noten bücher und ein Fascicul Noten’ valued at 1 Fl;⁹⁵ Anton Carl Richter ‘Ein Instrument flieg’ valued at 18 Fl;⁹⁶ Christian Rettig ‘verschiedne Musicalische Noten’ valued at 1 Fl 30 Kr;⁹⁷ Georg Christoph Wagenseil ‘2 Flüg’ and ‘1 Spinettl’ valued at 60 Fl and sold for 106 Fl.⁹⁸

There are also numerous estates relevant for court musicians because of their inclusion of lists of creditors or debtors. One of the most interesting encountered to date is that of Giovanni Battista Duracini (a *Hofbefreiter-Wasserbrenner* and Imperial Leibguard Trabant)⁹⁹ which includes debts owed to him by many musicians for unpaid items sold to them or money borrowed (mostly several hundred Gulden but some several thousand, mostly borrowed against court salary).¹⁰⁰ Es-

⁸⁸ HHStA HA OMaA 644 (1624/57), inventory dated 14 June 1624.

⁸⁹ HHStA HA OMaA 644 1626/64, documents dated 25 June 1626.

⁹⁰ HHStA HA OMaA 692, 1733/3761, inventory made on 30 September 1733.

⁹¹ HHStA HA OMaA 712, 1742/5184, inventory made on 21 March 1742.

⁹² HHStA HA OMaA 712, 1742/5193, inventory made on 27 April 1742

⁹³ HHStA HA OMaA 719, 1745/5741, inventory dated 21 July 1745.

⁹⁴ HHStA HA OMaA 724, 1747/6081, inventory 10 July 1747.

⁹⁵ HHStA HA OMaA 728, 1748/6292, inventory made on 21 March 1749.

⁹⁶ HHStA HA OMaA 796, 1764/241, inventory made on 12 December 1763.

⁹⁷ HHStA HA OMaA 796, 1764/225, inventory made on 10 May 1764.

⁹⁸ HHStA HA OMaA 811, W96, inventory made on 7 March, items auctioned on 20 March 1777.

⁹⁹ HHStA HA OMaA 1708/1113, inventory made between 10 and 15 October 1708

¹⁰⁰ These include Lorenzo Masselli, Leopold Joseph Rammer, Christian Christian, Gaetano Orsini, Georg Reutter, Ferdinand Leopold Pickhl, Johann Franz Sturm, Adam Felix Sances,

tate documents from time to time also give us an insight into the interests and day to day activities of individuals. For example, the inventory of the estate of the Nicolaß Scio includes many fascinating curiosities which one might not necessarily expect of a court dancer.¹⁰¹ These include a collection of exotic stuffed animals, skeletons and fossils (including a crocodile skull, an ‘extra large’ rhinoceros horn, a walrus tooth, various sea creatures and three monkey skeletons. He also had his own laboratory which contained all kinds of wooden and iron tools and burning glasses ...). From account extracts, it is possible to create a reasonably accurate picture of how a young unmarried woman, Karolina Faser, a court musician’s daughter, spent her time and what costs were incurred.¹⁰² From January 1738 to 1739, her expenses amounted to 440 Fl 37 Kr 2 D. These included travel costs, medicine, doctor and apothecary bills, language (French) and music tuition, and an astonishing high number of shoes!

Another aspect of this project is to examine living conditions of musicians. Many, but by no means all, musicians lived in court accommodation.¹⁰³ The size and quality of living quarters for court employees unsurprisingly depended on the rank of the tenant: the highest class quarters, with three or more rooms, were for top officials, next were for musicians, doctors, chamberlains etc and couples would have had double the amount of room at their disposal as a single person.¹⁰⁴ Other sources about accommodation include land registers, tax books (A-Wsa *Steueramt*), building plans (A-Wsa *Unterkammeramt*, *Bauamt*) and maps (such as Joseph Daniel von Huber’s cartographic masterpieces).¹⁰⁵

Given the range of financial circumstances of musicians, it is to be expected that living conditions also varied immensely. At one end of the spectrum we find

Ranier Burini, Giovanni Baptista Vergelli, Sebastian Zeitlinger, Friedrich Geringer, Vincenzo Brutti, Leopold Christian, Nicola Gelmini, Fabriccio Zerini, Ferdinand Anselone, Giovanni Battista Barbaretti, Kilian Reinhardt, Giovanni Battista Cavanni, Georg Lautter, Franz Strall, Giovanni Battista Vitali, Carlo Costa, Romulo Ferrini, and the Badias who had borrowed more than 10000 Gulden – including 2000 Fl worth of silver and jewellery. In addition, Emperor Joseph I and Emperor Karl VI had never paid off comparably small debts of 448 Fl and 78 Fl, respectively.

101 HHStA HA OMAA 722, 1746/5894, inventory made on 12 August 1748.

102 HHStA HA OMAA 707, 1739/4774.

103 See the *Hofquartiersbücher* (1563–1782) and *Hofquartiersresolutionen* (*Hofquartiersakten*) (1612–1778) (in AT-OeStA FHKA AHK). Descriptions of court accommodation in the 16th and 17th centuries are also found in separate volumes.

104 Knaus, Herwig. *Wiener Hofquartierbücher als biographische Quelle für Musiker des 17. Jahrhunderts*. In: *Mitteilungen der Kommission für Musikforschung*, 16 (Sonderabdruck aus dem Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1965), p. 178.

105 The birdseye-view maps *Scenographie oder Geometrisch Perspect. Abbildung der Kais.-König. Haupt u. Residenz Stadt Wien* (1778) (1:1440, c350 x 410cm) and *Die Kays. Königl. Haupt und Residenz Stadt Wien. Wie sie im Jahr 1785 unter der Regierung Josephs des Zweyten stehet* (1785) (1:930, c162 x 169cm), which even include *Konskriptionsnummern* and sometimes owners’/house names on the roofs of buildings.

musicians who were forced to live in rather bleak surroundings, owing to not being granted court accommodation, having large families or due to costs ensued through illness. For example, a musician at the court of the dowager Empress Amalia Wilhelmine, Johann Andreas Corney, writes that he lived in a house on one of the *Basteien* which was in such a state of disrepair that it crumbled down on top of him and his heavily pregnant wife who prematurely gave birth to a baby girl with a broken arm but she herself did not survive.¹⁰⁶ On the other end of the spectrum, we have musicians who owned their own properties, such as Gottlieb Muffat who over the course of his lifetime inherited his marital home at Weihburggasse 2/Kärntnerstraße 11 (*Konskriptionsnummern*: 959, 998, 940).¹⁰⁷ It is not possible to reconstruct the exact living quarters of Muffat and his family but from the *Josephinische Steuerfassion*¹⁰⁸ one can gain an insight into the typical distribution of space in a building of this size (seen in Table 2).¹⁰⁹ In 1787, tradesmen and the caretaker occupied the ground floor and the house consisted of a further twelve apartments. Tenants included middle-class tradesmen, surgeons, and a dance master (it is known from advertisements for an auction of his estate that he lived on the second floor of the building).¹¹⁰ The rent accrued from the tenants at this time after deduction of tax came to 2739 Fl 6 Kr.¹¹¹

Table 2. Layout and Rental Income of Weihburggasse 2/Kärntnerstraße 11 according to the *Josephinische Steuerfassion*

Ground floor

1) A store (*Gewölb*)¹¹² of a clothes (*Mode*) dealer [80 Fl]

¹⁰⁶ Letter in the estate documents of Juliana Corney, HHStA OMA 711, 1741/5127, dated 9 December 1741.

¹⁰⁷ A more detailed description of this property and his history can be found in Alison J. Dunlop. *The Life and Works of Gottlieb Muffat (1690–1770)*, vol. 1: A Documentary Biography (forthcoming in 2012, Hollitzer Wissenschaftsverlag).

¹⁰⁸ Michael Lorenz provides detailed information about the *Josephinische Steuerfassion* (1787–1789) in his exhaustive source study of Mozart's apartment on the Alsergrund. (http://homepage.univie.ac.at/michael.lorenz/alsergrund/#_edn11 (Accessed 22 August 2010).

¹⁰⁹ A-Wsa B34/4, ff392v–395r.

¹¹⁰ Advertised in the *Wienerisches Diarium* on 8, 12 and 15 October 1763.

¹¹¹ From an earlier tax book (A-Wsa Behauste Bücher, Kärntnerviertel 1751–1775, f240v) we also obtain the following information about rental income and tax (in brackets): 1751: 2124 Fl (303 Fl 26 Kr); 1752: 2104 Fl (300 Fl 34 Kr); 1753: 2084 Fl (297 Fl 43 Kr); 1754–55: 2064 Fl (294 Fl 51 Kr); 1756–58: 2074 Fl (296 Fl 17 Kr); 1759: 2084 Fl (297 Fl 43 Kr); 1760–61: 2085 Fl (297 Fl 51 Kr); 1762–64: 2079 Fl (297 Fl); 1765: 2104 Fl (300 Fl 34 Kr); 1766: 2116 Fl 30 Kr (302 Fl 21 Kr); 1767: 2226 Fl (318 Fl); 1768: 2266 Fl (323 Fl 43 Kr); 1769–71: 2316 Fl (330 Fl 51 Kr); 1772–75: 2226 Fl (318 Fl).

¹¹² The term *Gewölb* was generally used for any kind of shop but also referred to a storage room. *Handgewölb* would suggest a place where goods were sold across a counter. I am grateful to Dr. Michael Lorenz for his expert advice on such matters and sharing his archival findings with me.

- 2) A store of a wigmaker [70 Fl]
- 3) A store of a baker [90 Fl]
- 4) A store (*Handgewölb*) of a wax dealer [230 Fl]
- 5) A store of a rope maker [70 Fl]
- 6) A store and 8) apartment of a cheesemonger (*Kayßstecherin*) with 1 room (*Zimmer*), 1 chamber (*Kammer*), 1 kitchen, 2 cellars, 1 firewood store [230 Fl]
- 7) A store of a candlemaker [140 Fl]
- 9) A chamber of the *Ölersitzer* (who sold candles and oil) [12 Fl]

First floor

- 10) Apartment of the caretaker: 1 room, 1 chamber, 1 kitchen [no charge]
- 11) Apartment of the co-owner: 5 rooms, 1 chamber, 1 kitchen, 1 cellar, 1 firewood vault [380 Fl]
- 12) Apartment: 4 rooms, 2 chambers, 1 kitchen, 1 cellar, 1 firewood store [340 Fl]
- 13) Apartment: 1 room, 1 chamber, 1 kitchen, 1 firewood store [70 Fl]

Second floor

- 14) Apartment: 5 rooms, 1 chamber, 1 kitchen, 1 cellar, 1 firewood store [365 Fl]
- 15) Apartment: 4 rooms, 1 chamber, 1 kitchen, 1 cellar, 1 firewood store [300 Fl]
- 16) Apartment: 1 room, 1 chamber, 1 kitchen, 1 firewood store [80 Fl]

Third floor

- 17) Apartment: 5 rooms, 1 chamber, 1 kitchen, 1 cellar, 1 firewood store [350 Fl]
- 18) Apartment: 2 rooms, 1 kitchen, 1 cellar, 1 firewood store [160 Fl]
- 19) Apartment: 1 room, 2 chambers, 1 kitchen, 1 firewood store [120 Fl]
- 20) Apartment: 1 room, 1 chamber, 1 kitchen, 1 firewood store [62 Fl]

It is also my intention to investigate the demographic composition of the imperial court music. This includes place of origin, gender and mortality rates. The primary sources for this part of the investigation are church records¹¹³ and city death inspection records.¹¹⁴ A related aspect of this part of the study is to gather statistics about illness and the causes of death of musicians. Although precise causes of death at this time are not easy (or arguably impossible) to determine, the death records show (for the years without epidemics) that lung illnesses com-

¹¹³ These include the so-called *Bahrleibbücher* of St. Stephan's cathedral which include information about the class of funeral (determined originally by the bells which were rung and the corresponding costs, not on the social class of the individual *per se*).

¹¹⁴ *Totenbeschauprotokolle*, A-Wsa 1.1.10.B1, available (with some gaps) from 22 August 1648 to 31 August 1920. Contemporary sources – church records, *Totenbeschauprotokolle*, imperial court records and estate documents – often give conflicting death dates. These may have occurred because of the procedure of recording deaths. The dead were inspected and a death certificate (*Totenbeschauzettel*) was issued. Death certificates – which were often barely legible – were usually copied into the book at a much later date and for this reason entries are not always reliable. In the *Totenbeschauprotokolle*, the date given is that of inspection, which up until the second half of the 18th century was generally one day after the death. The records from 21 April 1752 onwards are ordered alphabetically and then chronologically (records prior to this are only ordered chronologically); this additional filtering of data may account for further incongruities.

prised approximately one quarter of all deaths, followed closely by degenerative illnesses (estimated at approximately one fifth).¹¹⁵ In the statistics gathered for musicians who died between 1740 and 1749, just over one third are reported as having died from lung-related illness,¹¹⁶ approximately one quarter from ‘Schlagflus’ (apoplexy),¹¹⁷ and one quarter from ‘innerlicher Brand’ (internal gangrene or inflammation).¹¹⁸ Other causes of death include ‘Wassersucht’ (dropsy)¹¹⁹ and ‘Hi[t]z-Gallfieber’ (bilious fever).¹²⁰ During this period, the only musician’s death not caused by illness was Johann Ernst Muffat, who died one evening after falling down the cellar steps of the tavern ‘zum Goldenen Rebhuhn’.¹²¹

Conclusion

This article has presented some of the main sources available and has illustrated the potential they offer to researchers studying music and musicians at the Viennese court in the 18th century. It should be mentioned there are a number of sources that are not being examined systematically for this project on grounds of feasibility, which therefore have not been discussed here. These include documents in many other departments of the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv; supplementary printed sources such as the *Wienerisches Diarium/Wiener Zeitung*,¹²²

¹¹⁵ See Weigl, Andreas. Frühneuzeitliches Bevölkerungswachstum. In: *Wien. Geschichte einer Stadt*, vol. 2: *Die frühneuzeitliche Residenz (16. bis 18. Jahrhundert)*, pp. 109–131 and Weigl, Andreas. *Demographischer Wandel und Modernisierung in Wien*. Vienna 2000), p. 182.

¹¹⁶ Ages and dates of death (not always reliable) are given here according to the *Totenbeschauprotokolle*. Johann Alber (28 May 1745): ‘Lungl-defect’, aged 72; Jodocus Adam Christ (4 February 1746) ‘Hectica’, aged 61; Johann Joseph Fux (13 February 1741) ‘Hectica-Fieber’, aged 81; Johann Georg Grießbacher (27 June 1740) ‘Lungl Brand’, aged 56; Johann Georg Körner (9 April 1740) from ‘Hectica’, aged 61; Peter Schmelzer (20 September 1746) ‘Hectica’, aged 74; Johann Baptist Vergelli (27 December 1746) ‘Steck-Cathar’, aged 80; Sebastian Zeitlinger (10 April 1749) ‘Lungl-Brand’, aged 78; Leopold Hintereeder (11 November 1741) ‘Dörr-Sucht’, aged 65.

¹¹⁷ Domenico Apuzzo (10 October 1740), aged 63; Caspar Deltl (2 December 1744), aged 44; Jacob Friedrich (13 April 1741), aged 50; Joseph Holland (31 October 1747), aged 60; Johann Georg Reinhardt (6 November 1742), aged 65; Bernhard Ziller (5 July 1743), aged 46.

¹¹⁸ Marc’ Antonio Berti (8 December 1741), aged 56; Pietro Cassati (23 November 1745), aged 61; Johann Gabriel (7 November 1741), aged 66; Paul Hammer (6 October 1748), aged 45; Jacob Leopold Hellmann (22 March 1742), aged 58; Franz Schön (23 February 1742), aged 60.

¹¹⁹ From which Giovanni Perroni (10 March 1748), aged 60, and Johann Ludwig Schultz (28 February 1740), aged 55 died.

¹²⁰ From which Franz Carl Drenger (15 June 1745), aged 43, died.

¹²¹ According to the *Totenbeschauprotokoll* he died on 25 June 1746 (according to estate documents 24 June), aged 48 (in fact, he was baptised on 9 December 1686!).

¹²² First issued on 8 August 1703 under the title *Wienerisches Diarium* and then from 1780 under the name *Wiener Zeitung*. In the 18th century it was issued twice weekly (on Wednesday and Saturday).

correspondence and memoirs. Nevertheless, it is also hoped that a more detailed knowledge of individuals employed at the Viennese imperial court will shed much light on their interaction with musicians working outside the institution both within and beyond the confines of the city and empire; this should in turn allow us to reconstruct social and musical networks which reveal influences on and from music being created and performed there. It should also illuminate the organisation of court music, its policies and demographic composition and permit us to more accurately compare Vienna to other European courts.

ZAPOMENUTÍ HUDEBNÍCI. DOKUMENTACE HUDEBNÍHO DĚNÍ NA VÍDEŇSKÉM CÍSAŘSKÉM DVOŘE V 18. STOLETÍ.

V průběhu 18. století vyvrcholila intenzita v pěstování hudby na vídeňském císařském dvoře, následovaná poměrně rychlým úpadkem. Co se současného stavu bádání týče, badatelé se detailně věnovali mnoha jednotlivým hudebníkům, sloužícím u císařského dvora, zkoumali též, jakou roli hráli veřejná správa a jednotliví panovníci v hudebním životě Vídně. Nicméně systematický výzkum některých základních pramenů pro porozumění jak fungovala *Hofmusikkapelle*, dosud nebyl podniknut. Tato studie podává přehled rozvíjející se organizační struktury dvorské hudby v době mezi vládou Josefa I. a Josefa II.; představuje cíle, prameny a předběžné výsledky výzkumného projektu, jehož záměrem je odkrýt nové pohledy na hudební život ve Vídni v tomto období. Příspěvek je věnován především otázce primárních pramenů, které poskytují vhled do protokolu a zvyklostí dvorské hudby, a které zároveň podávají mnohostrannější obraz zde zaměstnaných hudebníků, problematiku zaměstnavatelské praxe, finančního ohodnocení, životní úrovně, nemocí a smrti.